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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Sub-Commission on Prevention of
Discrimination and Protection
of Minorities
Working Group on Indigenous Populations
Sixteenth session
27 July-31 July 1998

Report of the Workshop of Indigenous Journalists Madrid, 26-28 January 1998

Chairman-Rapporteur: Sebastián Lara

Introduction

1. The recommendation to organize a workshop of indigenous journalists was made by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in its resolution 1996/34 of 29 August 1996 entitled "International Decade of the World's Indigenous People". In that resolution the Sub-Commission recommended that the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (formerly the Centre for Human Rights) organize a workshop, with the participation of appropriate departments of the United Nations and other relevant institutions and persons, in order to improve the dissemination of information about the United Nations and its activities related to indigenous peoples. In its resolution 1997/15 of 22 August 1997, the Sub-Commission made further reference to the proposed workshop and recommended that it be held in the early part of 1998, with the participation of governmental representatives, the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, the International Press Institute, as well as indigenous journalists and competent United Nations agencies.

2. As part of the preparations for the proposed workshop, the Office of the High Commissioner sent questionnaires to indigenous organizations and journalists, as well as other interested institutions or persons, during the last quarter of 1996. The questionnaire, together with a series of informal discussions, sought to identify the major themes and priorities that might be addressed by the workshop. A number of common points emerged from the consultations. Firstly, there was general agreement that indigenous issues were not well covered in the mainstream press and that sometimes the pictures of indigenous peoples' cultures were distorted. Secondly, indigenous journalists stated that they often lacked the technical knowledge and the financial means to establish their own media. The workshop might therefore offer an opportunity to consider possible solutions to these problems. Thirdly, there was a suggestion that indigenous journalists had an important role to play as intermediaries between the United Nations and the communities. In particular, it was thought that indigenous journalists could provide information about relevant United Nations activities to indigenous communities. The proposed workshop was welcomed as it was thought that it would lead to greater interaction among the mainstream press, the United Nations system and the indigenous media and, in particular, could serve as a springboard for the establishment of an indigenous media network. Those consulted recommended that the workshop be of a technical nature with participation limited to about 30 practising journalists and other experts.

3. In the light of the foregoing, the Office of the High Commissioner prepared a project outline for the proposed workshop which was presented to the Advisory Group for the Voluntary Fund for the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People for its suggestions and comments when it met in April 1997. The Advisory Group decided to recommend that the workshop be supported by the Voluntary Fund with a contribution of $66,000. The officer-in-charge, and subsequently the High Commissioner, approved the workshop although some reduction was made in the budget in the light of the resources available in the Voluntary Fund.

4. It may be noted that there has been an interest in developing relations between the United Nations and indigenous media in order to make the increasing number of international activities better known to indigenous communities. As a result, indigenous journalists have been encouraged to attend sessions of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and other meetings dealing with indigenous issues. In 1993, the Department of Public Information invited an indigenous journalist to cover the events of the World Conference on Human Rights. Furthermore, indigenous representatives are active in the promotion of the rights of the indigenous media and their concerns are reflected in article 17 of the draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples which reads as follows:

> "Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages. They also have the right to equal access to all forms of non-indigenous media. States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity."

Participation and documentation

5. In accordance with the aforementioned resolutions, the Workshop of Indigenous Journalists was held in Madrid from 26 to 28 January 1998. The list of participants at the Workshop is contained in annex I to the present report.

6. The following documents were made available to the Workshop:

Provisional programme (HR/MADRID/SEM/1998);

"Getting indigenous issues covered in the mainstream press", paper by Suhas Chakma (HR/MADRID/SEM/1998/BP.1);

"The indigenous media as an intermediary between the United Nations and the community", paper by Atencio López (HR/MADRID/SEM/1998/BP.2);

Provisional list of participants (HR/MADRID/SEM/1998/INF.1);

Final list of participants (HR/MADRID/SEM/1998/INF.2).

Opening and general debate

7. The Workshop was opened by Mr. Julian Burger on behalf of the High Commissioner for Human Rights who expressed gratitude to the Government of Spain for hosting the meeting and to the Casa de América for the conference facilities. He provided some background information relating to the Workshop and in particular encouraged the participants to focus on practical suggestions and recommendations which could form the framework for a programme of activities to strengthen indigenous media during the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People. On behalf of the Government of Spain, Mr. Tomás Rodríguez Pantoja, Director of the Casa de América, and Mrs. María Noguerol, representing the Government of Spain, welcomed the participants to Madrid and noted the importance of the indigenous media in promoting the cultures and rights of indigenous peoples. Participants invited Sebastián Lara to be the Chairman-Rapporteur of the Workshop. The programme as contained in annex II was adopted.

8. Participants welcomed the opportunity to discuss issues of concern to the indigenous media and thanked the United Nations for the invitation to take part in the discussions. There was general agreement that the mainstream media tended to write about indigenous peoples only when there was conflict or tragedy and that otherwise articles often focused on folkloric or stereotypical aspects. There was an observation that the media in some countries reflected the dominant groups and that this reality should be borne in mind when considering the difficulties of access faced by indigenous people. Some participants also mentioned the role of the press in homogenizing cultures to the detriment of the unique way of life of their peoples. There was also recognition of the shortcomings of indigenous journalism which often did not take into account the marketplace in which the mainstream press was working. It was hoped that the Workshop would identify some of the practical measures that could be taken to improve indigenous

journalistic skills and to sensitize the mainstream press to indigenous issues. There was a suggestion that more indigenous women should be encouraged to enter the profession of journalism.

Indigenous issues in the mainstream press

9. The item was introduced by Mr. Suhas Chakma. He explained that the press could not be seen as monolithic and, in his country, was vibrant and critical. He said that there was space for more articles about indigenous people but that journalists needed to know the rules. This meant that an indigenous journalist wanting to place a story with the mainstream press must be familiar with editorial policy, have good inside contacts, and be adept at finding a "hook" with which to link the proposed article. Good timing was essential. As far as United Nations matters were concerned, there were stories to be found in some of the periodic reports to the treaty bodies and research on those topics could produce more coverage. Indigenous journalists needed to be credible, competitive and ready to learn the necessary skills.

10. The need to know editors and mainstream journalists personally was a point taken up by several other speakers. There was also agreement that indigenous journalists needed to become more professional when they had not had the opportunity to be formally trained. Some participants spoke about the limitations of writing only for the alternative press since it had a limited readership. Indigenous journalists faced the challenge of finding a balance between providing information that was interesting to the larger public without being sensational.

11. Some of the participants stated that many of the present generation of indigenous journalists were self-taught. Indigenous people had started their own media because their issues were not covered properly in the wider press. It was important to recognize the motivation of indigenous journalism, not only the acquisition of technical skills.

12. Participants gave examples of the difficulties they faced when trying to get prominence for their television programmes or written articles in the press. There was a tendency for indigenous matters to be placed under "entertainment" or put at less popular times of the day or in the back pages of the newspaper.

13. Mr. Carlos Arnaldo, the representative of UNESCO felt that there were two types of training which might be desirable. The first was related to the development of knowledge and technical skills needed for working in the media; the second he called "advocacy training", which came more directly from indigenous peoples themselves and sought to get across a message through a press strategy. Other participants echoed these suggestions by stating that indigenous journalists needed to know about their own histories and cultures as well as about the mass media and the essential technical skills. It was suggested that indigenous journalists could also use the growing local press and media better.

Strengthening the indigenous media

14. Ms. Tupaarnaq Rosing Olsen, Ms. Henrietta Rasmussen, Ms. Tida Ravn and Ms. Liv Inger Somby made presentations on the development of the indigenous media in Greenland, Norway and the Arctic region generally. There was a long tradition of indigenous journalism in the Inuit language. One of the existing newspapers in the Inuit language had been established in 1860 and was published by the Inuit themselves. Radio programmes in Greenlandic had been broadcast since the 1940s and television with some indigenous content had existed since the 1970s. In 1982 a school of journalism was opened and a new generation of Inuit journalists had been trained. There was a flourishing press which included newspapers, radio and television. The speakers stressed the importance of developing radio and television. It was also recognized that the indigenous media in certain countries had substantial resources and skills and that journalists from those countries had a responsibility to think of other indigenous peoples with more difficulties, especially where they faced limitations on freedom of speech and of the press.

15. In presenting the different country situations, the speakers recommended that emphasis be put on the establishment of an international association or network of indigenous journalists. They also agreed on the need for training or further education but suggested that indigenous peoples' own journalism schools could be strengthened.

16. Most participants agreed that the two keys to strengthen the indigenous media were by improving training and strengthening the financial base of existing indigenous media. In that respect it was stated that indigenous journalists needed to maintain their independence and reliability in order to be credible both to the wider public and to their own people. As far as improved skills were concerned, some participants thought that indigenous journalists needed to avoid the trap of portraying their own societies in a folkloric way, as did mainstream journalists.

17. The participants drew attention to the objectives of the Workshop, which were pertinent to all media. Indigenous persons needed to learn skills in the media that included all aspects of the profession, from behind-the-camera expertise to editorial ability. Indigenous people also needed to work within State and private media as well as in their own independent media.

18. Mr. Arnaldo thought that indigenous journalists would benefit from networking and could make broad-based requests as an association. He also felt that an indigenous journalists network could be linked to non-indigenous trade unions. There were some journalism courses available on the Internet in which his organization was involved. Those courses could perhaps be expanded to include modules for indigenous journalists.

Indigenous journalists and the United Nations

19. The item was introduced by Mr. Atencio López, who drew attention to the international context of the Workshop. He spoke of the rapid development of indigenous peoples' own media as well as their growing interest in international affairs. The United Nations had also been expanding its work on indigenous questions and the speaker referred to a number of international

conferences such as the Earth Summit (Rio de Janeiro, 1992) and the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993) in which indigenous peoples had participated in large numbers. He said that he had been chosen by the Department of Public Information of the United Nations to report on the Vienna Conference. He suggested that greater efforts were needed to help indigenous journalists familiarize themselves with the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

20. It was noted that international developments increasingly impinged upon the daily lives of indigenous communities. The decisions taken by the United Nations were more and more relevant for indigenous people and both the Organization and indigenous journalists had responsibilities to ensure that information was transmitted to local communities. It was recognized, however, that much of what the United Nations did was not "news", nor was it easily accessible or readable. Some participants pointed out that the United Nations produced comprehensive documents which were relevant to indigenous peoples, but they were often not used by indigenous journalists. Mr. Christian Ramos Veloz described some of the documentation which was available for the ILO Committee of Experts meetings. Although a unique source of information, it was not used often by indigenous people or by journalists.

21. It was acknowledged that indigenous journalists needed to devote some of their efforts to learning about the United Nations but that the United Nations needed to make its own work more generally available. Most participants agreed that not enough information about intergovernmental decisions was reaching the communities and journalists needed to learn to read between the lines of reports. It was thought that indigenous journalists should attend more intergovernmental meetings.

22. Participants set aside some of the meeting time to discuss the potential benefits of the Internet for indigenous journalists. Some believed that the Internet offered many opportunities for networking and exchange of documentation and suggested creating a webpage for indigenous peoples, a virtual museum of indigenous arts and a thesaurus of indigenous concepts. Others noted that the creation of a webpage was cheap and relatively easy to do; it had the advantage of eliminating borders between indigenous peoples. However, certain speakers cautioned against too great a reliance on the Internet since it was still not available to the majority of indigenous peoples. Mr. Arnaldo spoke about cheap technology for local radio stations and referred to the possibility of using the Internet to download radio programmes from digital files.

23. In concluding the Workshop, participants expressed interest in continuing the dialogue among indigenous journalists and requested the Office of the High Commissioner to arrange further consultations on the theme.

Recommendations

24. At its concluding meeting the Workshop agreed to adopt the following recommendations containing an outline for a programme to strengthen the indigenous media during the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People and requested that the report of the Workshop be submitted to the sixteenth session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

A. Training and education

25. Training and educational activities should be developed to enable indigenous media workers to improve their professional and technical skills in the communication media, and strategies elaborated for advocacy communication through training workshops, scholarships, internships and other initiatives. Where feasible and appropriate, use should be made of electronic journalism courses on the Internet (such as those designed by the European Journalism Centre, Maastricht); modules for indigenous journalism should be designed within these courses.

26. Training and educational activities should be developed for indigenous media workers within indigenous media organizations through exchange of indigenous journalists and other exchange programmes so as to create specific sensitivities to indigenous journalism.

27. Training and educational activities should be strengthened for indigenous media workers to gain knowledge and experience of the United Nations and the specialized agencies through seminars and other programmes; indigenous journalists should be invited to relevant meetings.

B. Networks

28. As the basis of eventual regional or global networks and associations, the formation should be encouraged of local or national associations, unions or clubs of media practitioners that can ally with regional or global associations. As far as possible such associations should relate closely to other professional journalist organizations and networks.

29. A preliminary database of indigenous media workers should be established in cooperation with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, UNESCO and indigenous organizations with a view to founding an international indigenous media workers network to develop activities aimed at further strengthening the indigenous media.

30. A preliminary database of non-indigenous journalists should be established in order to stimulate better coverage of indigenous issues in the mainstream press.

31. The United Nations and the specialized agencies should be requested to explore ways in which indigenous journalists can be better informed about their activities affecting indigenous peoples through information packages, direct links through electronic mail and other mechanisms.

C. New technology and special projects

32. The United Nations, in particular OHCHR, DPI, UNDP, ILO, UNESCO and other relevant specialized agencies should be requested to develop further national and regional projects to provide training and assist indigenous organizations to establish and upgrade their media.

33. The possibility should be explored with Internet servers of establishing an international indigenous webpage for information alerts, news and features and other relevant information for indigenous people and generally, including support for an indigenous peoples network.

34. The support of OHCHR should be sought to establish and develop a network of indigenous media on the Internet.

35. An informal indigenous features service should be established to provide the mainstream press with articles written by indigenous journalists seeking outlets in the mainstream press.

D. Cultural issues

36. Within the concept of the right to an ethnic language, greater and more professional use should be made of communication media and new technologies to preserve oral traditions, languages written in non-Latin scripts and various forms of indigenous cultural manifestations.

37. Programmes, conferences and activities of the specialized agencies concerning indigenous peoples should seek to involve journalists and media practitioners from indigenous organizations and associations.

38. Implementation should be encouraged of the relevant provisions of existing international instruments relating to media, information and communications.

E. Funding

39. In the framework of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, funds should be requested from the United Nations, Governments, non-governmental organizations and other institutions to assist with the implementation of the foregoing programme.

40. The United Nations and the specialized agencies should be asked to consider including in all projects a budget line covering the costs of communications, information and documentation

F. Meetings and follow-up

41. OHCHR should be requested to organize a second workshop of indigenous media workers, in cooperation with indigenous journalists, to further explore the issues raised in Madrid and to finalize and adopt a programme of activities for strengthening the indigenous media in the framework of the International Decade.

42. OHCHR should be requested to encourage indigenous peoples to hold regional workshops.

43. OHCHR should be requested to organize a lunchtime briefing on the results of the Workshop during the 1998 session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

44. OHCHR should be requested to transmit the report of the proceedings of the Workshop to the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, DPI, UNESCO, ILO and other relevant United Nations organizations.

45. It is proposed that the Working Group on Indigenous Populations consider the theme of media information and communications at its 1999 session.

Annex I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Ms. Idoia Aldama
Directorate for Development Cooperation of the Basque government

Mr. Carlos A. Arnaldo
UNESCO, Communications Division

Mr. Diego Azqueta
President, WATU/Indigenous Action, Spain

Mr. Genaro Bautista
International Indigenous Press Agency, Mexico

Ms. Aurora Bazán
International Indigenous Press Agency, Mexico

Mr. Miguel Blazquez
Iberian-American Educational Television

Mr. Suhas Chakma
South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre and freelance journalist, India

Mr. Emil Cutknife
International Organization for Indigenous Resource Development, Canada

Ms. Verónica de Assas Gaupp Berghausen
Journalist, Spain

Mr. Zuzen de la Cueva
Responsible for Development Cooperation for the NGO Eusnet Elkartea, Spain

Mr. Artemio Dumlao
Head, Public Information Commission, Cordillera Peoples Alliance and guest commentator on Radio Bombo, the main radio station in the Cordillera region, Philippines

Mr. Clayton Gordon
Television Northern Canada

Ms. Liv Inger Somby
Saami Council, Norway

Ms. Ma. Rosa Jordán
Journalist, Esto es Argentina (This is Argentina) magazine

Mr. Denes Kiba
Organizer of and contributor to an indigenous community radio station in Suriname

Mr. Sebastián Lara
International Indigenous Peoples Information and Documentation Centre, Spain

Mr. J. Wilton Littlechild
International Organization for Indigenous Resource Development, Canada

Mr. César Lonche Castellanos
Deputy, Commisison on Indigenous Affairs, Mexico

Mr. Atencio López
Founder and member, International Indigenous Press Agency (AIPIN), Panama

Mr. Cansio Mamaní López
Founder and member of a network of indigenous radio stations based in Bolivia

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Mr. Christian Ramos Veloz
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Ms. Henrietta Rasmussen
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Ms. Tida Ravn
Inuit Circumpolar Conference and Home Rule Government, Foreign Affairs, Greenland

Ms. Tarcila Rivera Zea
President of the Peruvian indigenous cultural centre Chirapaq, magazine editor and President of the Permanent Workshop of Indigenous Women of the Andean and Amazon Regions

Ms. Silvia Rodríguez Curti
Spanish journalist and host of the radio programme "Amerindia"

Mr. Gregorio Rosario
Iberian-American Educational Television

Ms. Tupaarnaq Rosing Olsen
Association of Journalists in Greenland and representative of the Greenland Home Rule Government, Information Service, Greenland

Mr. Yuri Rytheu
Chukchi freelance writer on indigenous issues and founder of the UNESCO Arctic project, Russian Federation

Mr. John T. Solbakk
Research Fellow, The Saami Institute, Faculty of Humanities, University of Tromso, Norway

Ms. Susana Valcarce
WATU/Indigenous Action

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Mr. Efraiín Zúñiga Galeana
Deputy, Commission on Indigenous Affairs, Mexico

Annex II

PROGRAMME

Monday, 26 January 1998

Morning	Welcome on behalf of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Government of Spain.
	Election of officers.
	Introduction of participants.
	Organization of work.
	Adoption of the agenda.
	General discussion of issues.
Afternoon	Theme: Getting indigenous issues covered in the mainstream press Presentation by Mr. Suhas Chakma.
	Discussion of issues raised Facilitator: Mr. Suhas Chakma.

Tuesday, 27 January 1998

Morning	Theme: Building and strengthening the indigenous media Presentation by Ms. Tupaarnaq Rosing Olsen, Henrietta Rasmussen, Tida Ravn and Liv Inger Somby.
	Discussion of issues raised.
Afternoon	Theme: The indigenous media as an intermediary between the United Nations and the Community Presentation by Mr. Atencio López.
	Discussion of issues raised Facilitator: Mr. Atencio López.

Wednesday, 28 January 1998

Morning	Theme: Building parternships in the Decade: suggestions for developing an indigenous journalists network. Discussion.
Afternoon	Discussion and approval of suggestions for a programme of action to strengthen indigenous journalism during the Decade. Discussion and suggestions for follow-up to the Workshop. Other conclusions and recommendations.
Evening	"The rights of indigenous peoples and the role of the press" Panel discussion with indigenous and Spanish journalists followed by a debate.

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Sixteenth session
27-31 July 1998
Item 11 of the provisional agenda

INTERNATIONAL DECADE OF THE WORLD'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Preparations for the mid-point review of the Decade

Note by the Secretariat

1. By its resolution 48/163 of 21 December 1993, the General Assembly proclaimed the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004). The goal of the Decade is to strengthen international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health. The theme of the Decade is "Indigenous people: partnership in action".

2. By its resolution 50/157 of 21 December 1995, the General Assembly adopted the Programme of Activities for the Decade and decided to include in its agenda an item entitled "Programme of activities of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People".

3. In the Programme of Activities, the General Assembly identified a number of objectives for the Decade, inter alia, the adoption of the draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples; the implementation of the recommendations pertaining to indigenous people of all high-level international conferences; continued consideration of the establishment of a permanent forum for indigenous people within the United Nations system; the education of indigenous and non-indigenous

societies concerning the situation, cultures, languages, rights and aspirations of indigenous people; and that the United Nations system, as well as communities and private enterprises, should devote special attention to development activities of benefit to indigenous communities.

4. The Programme of Activities contains a list of recommendations to the major actors, such as the United Nations system, regional organizations, Member States, indigenous organizations, and private entities with regard to desirable action and activities on their part in the course of the Decade.

5. Furthermore, the aforementioned resolution of the General Assembly states that the objectives of the Decade should be assessed by quantifiable outcomes that measure improvements in the lives of indigenous people and that can be evaluated halfway through the Decade and at its end. In resolution 50/157, the General Assembly decided that the Programme of Activities for the Decade may be reviewed and updated throughout the Decade and that at the mid-point of the Decade (1999) the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly should review the results of the activities to identify obstacles to the achievement of the goals of the Decade and to recommend solutions for overcoming those obstacles. In its resolution 52/108 of 12 December 1997, the General Assembly noted the need for a mid-point review of the implementation of the programme of activities.

6. At its fifteenth session, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations recalled the recommendation of the General Assembly that there be a review of the Decade in 1999 and decided to include a sub-item entitled "Preparations for the mid-point review of the Decade" on the agenda of its sixteenth session.

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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Sub-Commission on Prevention of
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of Minorities
Working Group on Indigenous Populations
Sixteenth session
27-31 July 1998
Item 12 of the provisional agenda

OTHER MATTERS

Note by the secretariat

Information received from indigenous organizations

1. In resolution 1992/34 of 7 May 1982, the Economic and Social Council authorized the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to establish annually a working group on indigenous populations to review developments pertaining to the promotion and protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous populations, together with information requested annually by the Secretary-General, and to give special attention to the evolution of standards concerning the rights of indigenous populations.

2. The Sub-Commission, in its resolution 1997/14 of 22 August 1997, requested the Secretary-General to transmit the report of the Working Group to intergovernmental, indigenous and non-governmental organizations and to invite them to provide information. The Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 1998/13 of 9 April 1998, urged the Working Group to continue its comprehensive review of developments. The present document contains information in relation to item 12 of the provisional agenda.

THE SAMI COUNCIL

[Original: English]
[3 June 1998]

Cultural policies for development: an indigenous perspective

Introduction

1. The Sami Council has prepared this report on the concerns of indigenous peoples with regard to cultural policies and cultural rights on the occasion of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development organized by UNESCO in Stockholm from 30 March to 2 April 1998. Culture and cultural diversity is at the heart of the identity of indigenous peoples and of their aspirations to protect their special rights and traditional lifestyles. This report is intended to inform indigenous representatives about the UNESCO Conference in Stockholm, as well as to document some of the concerns of indigenous peoples on these issues for future action.

2. A key objective of the Conference was to establish recommendations, through adoption of an Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development, to guide future policy-making decisions regarding cultural and development issues. The stated aim of the Conference was to bring together distinguished leaders among decision makers, artists and intellectuals, NGOs, foundations and culturally sensitive business executives in an open and interactive format to explore strategies and actions for the coming decades that place culture central to human development strategies and define practical outcomes for Governments and their partners, as well as for UNESCO.

3. The substantive issues discussed at the Conference were guided by issues raised in the report of UNESCO's World Commission on Culture and Development, entitled Our Creative Diversity. Since this report makes numerous references to indigenous peoples throughout the text, and the Commission itself was guided on this issue by a Sami expert member of the Commission, it came as a surprise that neither the Conference agenda nor the Conference's main working document, the Draft Action Plan, contained any reference to indigenous peoples. The same could be said for ethnic minorities, whose culture is also central to their identity. Moreover, neither indigenous nor minority participation was contemplated in advance of the Conference. It was only on the independent initiative of the Sami Council that indigenous participation in Stockholm was arranged under limited resources and time-frames.

4. The Sami Council organized an Agora Session on the Cultural Rights of Indigenous Peoples with the participation of United Nations expert Mrs. Erica-Irene Daes, Chair of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, who presented her study on the protection of the heritage of indigenous people, and Professor Ole Henrik Magga, Sami expert member of UNESCO's World Commission on Culture and Development, who presented the Commission's report, Our Creative Diversity. The Government of Bolivia also organized a Forum on Cultural Rights that included on its panel: Dr. R. Rocha-Monroy, Vice-Minister of Culture of Bolivia; Professor Timoti Karetu, Maori of New Zealand; Professor Ole Henrik Magga, Sami member of the World Commission; and Mr. Julian Burger of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for

Human Rights. Both meetings forwarded significant recommendations referring to indigenous peoples to the plenary. The Declaration adopted at the Sami Council's Agora Session is annexed to the present report.

5. While the Conference organizers were welcoming and accommodating of Indigenous participation at the Conference, it was nevertheless a matter of continued concern that the revised Action Plan adopted at the end of the Conference still did not reflect any reference to indigenous peoples, nor to the recommendations and amendments formally submitted by indigenous participants according to Conference procedures. The final Action Plan that was published after the Conference reflects only minimally the recommendations forwarded on indigenous peoples from the relevant Agora and Forum Sessions, although it contains principles that would be clearly relevant to indigenous peoples.

6. In view of these concerns, the Sami Council arranged a personal meeting at the close of the Conference with UNESCO's Director-General, who responded positively to the recommendations of the indigenous delegates, including proposed amendments to the Action Plan, encouraging UNESCO to take a stronger role in supporting activities related to the International Decade for the World's Indigenous People in closer dialogue with the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights/Coordinator of the Decade, and the organization of an international conference on the cultural rights of indigenous peoples in 1999, as a follow-up to Stockholm.

7. A fuller version of the present report will be made available during this session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, in English and Spanish, as a conference room paper. Copies of the report will be subsequently available through the Sami Council. Further information on the UNESCO Conference is available on the Internet at <www.unesco-sweden.org> or by contacting UNESCO headquarters in Paris.

Background on the Conference

World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD)

8. The WCCD was an independent commission established at the end of 1992 for a three-year period under the leadership of Javier Pérez de Cuellar, former United Nations Secretary-General, and comprised of 12 leading figures, including Sami representative Professor Ole Henrik Magga and four Nobel Prize winners. The Commission was entrusted with preparing the first action-oriented global report focusing on the ties between culture and development. The main objective of the report is to shape future national cultural and development strategies.

9. The World Commission recognized that among its objectives was the need to establish criteria to measure development beyond economics, taking into account human dignity and well-being according to a wider array of criteria, ranging from political, economic and social freedom to individual opportunities for being healthy, educated, productive, creative and enjoying self-respect and human rights, and the need to build cultural insights into the broader development strategies. At the conclusion of its work, the World Commission presented its report.

Our Creative Diversity and indigenous peoples

10. Our Creative Diversity contains an introductory section and 10 thematic chapters, addressing culture and development from a number of angles. These include issues of ethics, pluralism, creativity and empowerment, media, gender, children and youth, cultural heritage, environment, cultural policies, and research needs in four main areas, including democratization and sustainable development. The report concludes with an International Agenda containing 10 recommendations for action, and an appendix containing a summary of the World Commission's work.

11. Our Creative Diversity addresses indigenous peoples in several of its chapters, citing the definition contained in article 1 of ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. It highlights the importance of land and natural resources to Indigenous Peoples. Recalling basic principles contained in Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992), the report echoes the need to recognize, accommodate, promote and strengthen the role of indigenous people and their communities in environment and sustainable development issues, and that the lands of indigenous peoples and their communities should be protected from activities that are environmentally unsound or that the indigenous people consider to be socially and culturally inappropriate. The Report points out how cultural genocide or ethnocide, resulting in the disappearance of indigenous and tribal communities, has often been a by-product of development policy, based on the assumption that pre-modern forms of economic organization must give in to dominant models, such as capitalism, socialism or combinations of these that are alien to their own systems.

Structure of the Conference

Nature, aim and themes

12. The Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development was classified under category II of UNESCO regulations on intergovernmental meetings other than international conferences of States. This means that the conclusions reached by the Conference would consist of recommendations to Governments as well as to the Director-General of UNESCO. The chief participants were government representatives while others including non-member States, United Nations organizations and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, were invited to participate as observers.

13. The stated aim of the Conference was to encourage open exchange and dialogue among and between various sectors of civil society and to establish guidelines for Governments and their partners for the exploration of strategies and actions for the coming decades on cultural policies with regard to development. To this end, a draft Action Plan was discussed, revised and adopted by the Conference at its conclusion.

14. The two main themes of the Conference were: The challenges of cultural diversity and The challenge of recasting cultural policies. Each main theme covered five of the themes approximately corresponding to the chapters of the report Our Creative Diversity, and the discussions at the Forum Sessions held throughout the Conference were sponsored and presided over by a Government

(generally, the Ministry for Culture). The five sub-themes under the first main theme included: A commitment to pluralism (Canada); Cultural rights (Bolivia); Cultural heritage (India); Cultural creativity (United Kingdom and Jamaica); and Culture for children and young people (South Africa). The five sub-themes under the second main theme included: Cultural policy and research (France); International cooperation in cultural policy (Egypt); Mobilizing resources for cultural activities (Republic of Korea); the media in cultural policies (Philippines); and Culture and the new media technologies (Finland).

Plenary, Forum and Agora Sessions

15. A series of thematic Forum and Agora Sessions were held concurrently with the Plenary of the Conference, at which ministers, senior officials and heads of government delegations focused on the draft Action Plan. Statements were made by high-ranking officials and brief reports were submitted on the conclusions of the various Forum and Agora Sessions.

16. The 10 Forum Sessions sponsored by Governments, and nearly 40 Agora Sessions, were held on topics of special interest. The Agora Sessions were organized primarily by NGOs whose work was closely linked to UNESCO. The Forum and some Agora Sessions were led by panels of experts and cultural leaders and were structured to lead to participatory discussions.

Conference documents

17. The Conference documents consisted of 4 working documents, 5 information documents of a technical nature and 11 reference documents, which consisted of preparatory papers on the themes of the Conference. Among the working documents the draft Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development, which had been prepared by the UNESCO Director-General. At Stockholm, a Drafting Group was established to consider proposed amendments to the draft Action Plan and submit a revised version to the closing plenary for adoption. The Drafting Group, chaired by the representative of Benin, was comprised of government representatives from Benin, Cuba, China, Egypt, France, India, Lithuania, Mexico, the Russian Federation, Senegal, Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom (two from each geographical region). A final report of the Conference was prepared by the Director-General of UNESCO.

Report on the Conference events

Agora Session 21 on indigenous peoples' cultural rights, organized by the Sami Council

18. The Sami Council organized an Agora Session on indigenous peoples' cultural rights, inviting as guest speakers Mrs. Erica-Irene Daes and Professor Ole Henrik Magga. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Lars-Anders Bear, Vice-President of the Sami Council.

19. Professor Magga, presented the report Our Creative Diversity, elaborating on the Commission's discussions on indigenous peoples. Mrs. Daes, presented the United Nations study she conducted on the protection of the heritage of indigenous peoples, containing draft principles on the subject proposed for further consideration. A general debate about the draft Action

Plan ensued and comments were made for inclusion in the Declaration of the Agora Session, which was adopted by the participants at the Agora Session by consensus.

20. The resulting document, entitled "Declaration of Agora Session 21 on Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Rights" (see annex), recalls international precedents on the protection of indigenous cultures, makes specific proposals for amendments throughout the draft Action Plan to reflect indigenous peoples' concerns, and presents a recommendation to the Director-General of UNESCO.

21. The conclusions of the Agora Session on Indigenous Peoples were presented to the Plenary Session by Mr. Bear and the conclusions, together with the Declaration, were submitted in writing to the appropriate persons within the time-frame indicated.

Recommendations: Meeting between indigenous representatives and UNESCO Director-General on the closing day of the Stockholm Conference

22. The recommendations to the Director-General of UNESCO during this meeting included:

(a) That the revised Action Plan of the Stockholm Conference reflect the recommendations contained in the final document of Agora Session 21 on indigenous peoples' cultural rights sponsored by the Sami Council, as well as the Forum on cultural rights sponsored by the Government of Bolivia;

(b) That the adopted Action Plan and final report of the Conference, including proposed follow-up activities, be formally submitted as an official document to the forthcoming session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, in view of the Working Group's thematic focus on culture, education and languages. The recommendations adopted by the Working Group in this regard could then be forwarded to the competent United Nations bodies to support related initiatives, including its endorsement of the proposal to hold an international conference directly prior to the July 1999 session of the Working Group;

(c) That an international conference on indigenous cultural rights be organized by UNESCO in 1999, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the Declaration of Agora Session 21, in close cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights/Coordinator of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples, other United Nations bodies, programmes and specialized agencies, Governments and indigenous peoples. It is hoped that UNESCO could host such a conference and that the 1999 session of the Working Group could be held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris;

(d) That UNESCO transmit a formal communication to the Sami Council and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights containing a response to these recommendations, and indicating a time-frame for follow-up;

(e) That UNESCO support the promotion of special policy measures and the development of special policy guidelines on culture and indigenous peoples by way of an international conference, in view of the vital importance of addressing long overdue cultural policies for the survival and well-being of indigenous peoples.

ANNEX

UNESCO Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development

DECLARATION OF AGORA SESSION 21 ON
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' CULTURAL RIGHTS

Stockholm, 31 March 1998

We, the Indigenous Peoples' representatives, meeting in Stockholm, Sweden, on 31 March 1998 to enhance the promotion and protection of our cultural rights,

Proclaim that Indigenous Peoples have the right to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

Proclaim also that control over our traditional lands and natural resources is essential to the economic and cultural survival of our peoples,

Proclaim furthermore that Indigenous Peoples have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language,

Underline the value and diversity of the cultures and forms of social organization of Indigenous Peoples,

Underline also that Indigenous Peoples contribute to the socio-economic, cultural and environmental development of all the countries in which they live,

Note that Indigenous Peoples' culture is a significant part of the cultural diversity of the world,

Note also that Indigenous Peoples' culture is particularly vulnerable to globalization and development, and that it is necessary to include special policy measures at the national and international levels to promote and protect the culture of Indigenous Peoples,

Recalling that the "Draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples" affirms that Indigenous Peoples are equal in dignity and rights to all other peoples, while recognizing our right to be different, to consider ourselves different and to be respected as such,

Recalling also that the goal of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) is to strengthen international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by Indigenous Peoples in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health, and that the theme of the Decade is "Indigenous Peoples: A Partnership in Action",

Recalling also that the World Conference on Human Rights, in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, recognized the inherent dignity and the unique contribution of Indigenous Peoples to the development and plurality of society and strongly reaffirmed the commitment of the international community to the economic, social and cultural well-being of Indigenous Peoples,

Recalling moreover that the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action underlines that States should ensure the full and free participation of Indigenous Peoples in all aspects of society, in particular in matters of concern to us,

Recalling also that the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the protection of the heritage of indigenous peoples proposes that the protection of Indigenous Peoples' heritage should be based on the right of self-determination, which includes the right and duty of Indigenous Peoples to develop their own cultures and knowledge systems,

1. Takes note of the draft Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development submitted to the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development by the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO);

2. Decides to suggest the following amendments to the draft Action Plan:

(a) Preamble: add the following paragraph:

"[The Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development] recognizes that Indigenous Peoples have the right to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development, and that this should be respected by Governments in their development and implementation of cultural policies,"

(b) Policy Objective 1: add the following paragraph:

"[States should,] in cooperation with Indigenous Peoples, develop mechanisms for the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples' concerns into decision-making processes on development policy."

(c) Policy Objective 3: add the following paragraph:

"[States should] ensure the full and effective participation of Indigenous Peoples in the formulation and implementation of cultural policies. States should also review their national legislation, and all cultural policies, programmes and institutions in order to ensure that the rights of Indigenous Peoples are respected."

(d) .Policy Objective 4:

"[States should] via national legislation establish effective protection of the heritage of Indigenous Peoples. States should also support the development of educational, research and training centres which are

controlled by Indigenous communities, and strengthen these communities' capacity to document, protect, teach and apply all aspects of their heritage."

(e) Policy Objective 5:

Add the term "Indigenous" before the term "local" in the first paragraph:

Delete the word "other", and add the term "Indigenous Peoples" after the wording "minority groups" in the second paragraph.

(f) Recommendations to the Director-General of UNESCO: Add the following paragraph:

"[Recommends that the Director-General of UNESCO] organize an International Conference on Indigenous Cultural Rights in 1999 with the aim to promote cultural diversity within States, in close cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights/Coordinator for the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples, other United Nations bodies, programmes and specialized agencies, Governments and Indigenous Peoples."

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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Sub-Commission on Prevention of
Discrimination and Protection
of Minorities
Working Group on Indigenous Populations
Sixteenth session
27-31 July 1998
Item 7 of the provisional agenda

STANDARD-SETTING ACTIVITIES

Note by the secretariat

Information received from indigenous organizations

1. In resolution 1982/34 of 7 May 1982, the Economic and Social Council authorized the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to establish annually a working group on indigenous populations to review developments pertaining to the promotion and protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous populations, together with information requested annually by the Secretary-General, and to give special attention to the evolution of standards concerning the rights of indigenous populations.

2. The Sub-Commission, in its resolution 1997/14 of 22 August 1997, requested the Secretary-General to transmit the report of the Working Group to intergovernmental, indigenous and non-governmental organizations and to invite them to provide information. The Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 1998/13 of 9 April 1998, urged the Working Group to continue its comprehensive review of developments. The present document contains information in relation to item 7 of the provisional agenda.

"TUPAC AMARU" INDIAN MOVEMENT

[Original: Spanish]
[25 May 1998]

Self-determination of indigenous peoples in the context of international law

I. INDIGENOUS STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

1. The right of peoples and nations to self-determination is an issue that goes far back in time and space, and is probably the most controversial idea to arise in the entire history of the struggle between the conquerors and the conquered.

2. In open defiance of the positive trend in social and political history and in contradiction with international instruments, States continue to deny indigenous peoples the just recognition of their customary right to self-determination. More than 500 years since the discovery of the New World and the "Encounter of Two Cultures", Western culture continues to impose on indigenous peoples its own world view, its own model of production and consumption and its own political concepts, as values that are sacrosanct.

3. An objective interpretation of customary law based on age-old practice, shows us that both in law and in practice self-determination has been vested in peoples since time immemorial and has never been the property of States. If this concept is indeed a universal, indivisible and interdependent one in the development of man and society, then we see no reason why it should be haggled over like a commodity in the marketplace.

4. The most basic understanding of democracy and social justice should lead States to recognize this legitimate and inalienable right explicitly, without restrictions or conditions, to regulate its application and to guarantee its full exercise, in conformity with prevailing international standards and instruments.

5. In resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", the United Nations General Assembly at long last recognized the self-determination of all peoples as one of the basic principles of public international law. This inalienable right invests colonized and dependent countries with the power freely to determine their political status, freely to pursue their economic, social and cultural development and freely to dispose of their natural wealth and resources. In essence, as we have already stated, this right is a basic requirement for the effective enjoyment of all other fundamental rights and freedoms.

6. Anyone who claims that this right ceased to apply once the colonial countries had been granted their independence does not understand that it is a right in a state of constant evolution. An objective and consistent analysis of evolving international standards shows that this inalienable right applies naturally, without objection or reservations, to indigenous peoples.

7. There is no doubt that the instrument which has universal scope in this area is the Charter of the United Nations, Articles 1, 2 and 55 of which establish the need "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

8. From a historical, social, political and moral point of view, the right of peoples to self-determination as political and social entities is the spiritual cornerstone of contemporary international law, which by its very essence and nature considers society as constantly evolving towards peaceful coexistence; however, it condemns and rejects any interference in the internal affairs of other States in the name of "international humanitarian law".

9. In the light of these principles, universally recognized by the international community, article 1 of the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Civil and Political Rights stipulates: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development".

10. In pursuance of this provision, the above-mentioned instruments not only invest peoples with the right freely to dispose of their natural wealth and resources, but also urge States to fulfil their obligations to promote and respect the effective exercise of self-determination, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

II. SUBJECTIVE INTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

11. For over a decade we have watched the western Powers of the North, together with the dominant elites in the South, attempt to delay the consideration and adoption of the declaration, water it down in general, weaken the legal force of its provisions in particular, and thus put off indefinitely the day when indigenous peoples will obtain their rights. Their arguments, endlessly reiterated in United Nations forums for 15 years now, to the effect that unilateral self-determination for aboriginal peoples would cause the break-up of national States and threaten their sovereignty and territorial integrity, have no legal foundation and no moral justification whatsoever.

12. On the threshold of the twenty-first century, it is difficult to imagine how indigenous peoples, some of whom are dying out, such as the Yanomamis in Brazil, the Chiapas Indians, under attack from modern weaponry, Native Americans in the United States of America, destined for mere survival on "reservations", or the aboriginal peoples of northern Siberia, doomed to a slow genocide, could pose a threat to the sovereignty of the economic and military Powers.

13. The nightmare fantasy of a break-up or secession, the imaginary fears of the State's authority being undermined and the supposed threat to territorial integrity have been the products time and again of a subjective and tendentious interpretation of the concept of self-determination.

14. States deliberately forget another aspect of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960, which, besides bringing an end to colonialism,

is also aimed at safeguarding national sovereignty. Paragraph 6 stipulates that "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

15. Despite this clear and precise provision on national integrity, the Governments of the United States of America, Argentina, Brazil and others indulge in erroneous interpretations with the deliberate intention of distinguishing between the concept of self-determination in domestic and in external law. In domestic law it would apply to indigenous peoples considered as minorities, ethnic groups, i.e. subnations or second-class groups; while in external law it protects the dominant, oppressive nation, i.e. the elites of the North and South, that wield political and economic power.

16. For the purposes of this arbitrary classification, which is not to be found in any international lawbook, aboriginal and native peoples are not recognized as peoples or subjects of law, and therefore lack full capacity to enjoy the right to self-determination. To any discerning jurist, the concept of self-determination is inherent, inalienable, indivisible and universal with regard to both interpretation and practical application. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted 50 years ago, will not be universal in nature if nations are still being discriminated against and prevented from exercising self-determination.

17. These allegations with racist overtones raise another important aspect of the problem. The facts persistently remind us that the real threat to national integrity and sovereignty does not come from vanquished and colonized peoples, but from the old and new metropolitan countries of the North and the power elites of the South. What issue is actually involved? The reasons behind the systematic refusal to restore indigenous peoples' right freely to determine their own fate are economic, i.e. the vital economic and strategic interests of the economic and military Powers of the West.

18. In violation of General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, which reaffirms the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources, the transnational corporations in their headquarters and decision-making centres in the Western countries covet the fabulous natural resources, the oil, natural gas, gold, silver, uranium, diamonds, etc. that lie dormant in indigenous lands and territories.

19. How ironic! The Governments of Latin America claim to be defending national sovereignty, when it is they themselves, with their ultraliberal policies, that are unconditionally surrendering their natural resources to the greed of international capitalism. So just who is attacking whom, and who is threatening the sovereignty and independence of the national State?

20. In a State under the rule of law, the most logical and reasonable attitude would be to consider self-determination of indigenous peoples as part of an ongoing dialectic and introduce it as a new category of contemporary international law. By introducing into their constitutions and national laws new concepts and legal categories, such as self-determination, indigenous peoples, collective land rights and permanent sovereignty over natural

resources, etc., as a means of enhancing plurinational and pluricultural diversity, on a non-paternalistic basis and with no interest in seeing the Indian identity assimilated into that of the West, States could display a noble sense of responsibility and redress an age-old injustice.

III. LACK OF POLITICAL WILL

21. But experience has shown that the political will to resolve the distressing problems of indigenous peoples throughout the world is lacking. Fifteen years after work on the draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples began, the revised text has had to withstand the ravages of men and time, gradually losing its political and legal content, becoming watered down and reduced to a set of obsolete and abstract statements.

22. It is no accident that the provision on self-determination has been relegated from first to third place in the operative part of the declaration. This is the result of the political pressures and diplomatic manoeuvres of States bent on reducing the legal scope of self-determination and divesting it of its political importance as an inalienable, indivisible and natural right, in order to delay the achievement of indigenous rights indefinitely.

23. Let this much be clear: the right to self-determination in the form in which it is defined in article 3 of the draft declaration meets legitimate aspirations by providing for greater autonomy in internal government, meaning the governance and management of peoples' own destinies, and is not in the slightest way intended to create mini-States within national States, as those who criticize the principle that each people should be able freely to determine its own destiny would have us believe.

24. Legally speaking, administrative autonomy in local matters is intended to mean the right of aboriginal peoples and communities, within the national State, to manage and use their lands and natural resources and promote their cultural values - in particular, education, environmental protection, health, housing, employment and social welfare - through their own self-governing bodies.

25. There is no doubt that, in order for this autonomy to be exercised effectively, Ayllus (peasant communities), aboriginal communities and nations must have full capacity to govern themselves by their own laws, freely determine the forms of and conditions for their own development and assume their duties, together with the national community, as actors in political life and subjects of law.

26. On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, any policy aimed at breaking the determination of subjugated peoples to take their destinies in hand with dignity and on equal terms should be regarded as an irrational act, an unjust and discriminatory measure and one that is therefore incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and the international instruments.

27. For the draft declaration rests on the principle of self-determination, which is its very foundation. This means that the adoption of the declaration

by the Assembly during the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People is an essential condition for the survival of aboriginal populations and the preservation of their identity.

28. This is a question not simply of recognizing an identity in itself, but of recognizing an identity for itself, i.e. of considering the Indian as an actor in history and a subject of law. Only then will indigenous peoples, under the protection of the principle of self-determination, be political and socio-economic entities with full powers of participation in both national life and the community of nations.

29. If the States parties to the agreements, international covenants and declarations do not assume their political responsibility to implement the inalienable rights of all nations which are succumbing to another form of neocolonial regime, without discrimination, still more forms of struggle will arise throughout the world, leading to a vast social upheaval for the sake of life and dignity, land and sovereignty, with unforeseeable consequences for international peace and security.